

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2369

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCICNEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 3116

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS; FROM US REP MBFR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF APRIL  
4, 1974

1. SUMMARY. MAIN TOPIC OF DISCUSSION IN APRIL 4 AD HOC GROUP  
WAS PROPOSED OUTLINE FOR FINAL WESTERN PRESENTATION BEFORE  
THE SPRING RECESS. PROPOSED PRESENTATION SUMMARIZING WESTERN  
VIEWPOINT SPURRED ALLIED REPS TO BRING UP FAVORITE NATIONAL  
PROPOSALS. FLANK STATES, ENCOURAGED BY POSITIVE LANGUAGE IN  
BULGARIAN PLENARY STATEMENT OF APRIL 4, PUSHED FOR STRONG  
STATEMENT WITH REGARD TO THEIR INTERESTS. CANADIAN DEP REP  
(MORGAN) RECALLED THAT HUNGARY HAD NOT BEEN DISCUSSED FOR SOME  
TIME. HOWEVER, DISCUSSION BROUGHT OUT THE SELF-DEFEATING  
NATURE OF THIS EXERCISE AND ADDITIONS WERE LIMITED. AD HOC  
GROUP ALSO AMENDED ITS REPORT TO THE NAC OF APRIL 5 (SEPTTEL),

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AND HEARD REPORT OF A BILATERAL BETWEEN US AND SOVIET REPS

(SEPTEL) ABOUT THE COURSE OF FUTURE WORK. END SUMMARY.

2. AMENDMENTS TO THE AHG REPORT TO THE NAC OF APRIL 5. THE FIRST ITEM OF BUSINESS WAS TWO CHANGES IN THE GROUP'S REPORT TO BE PRESENTED TO THE NAC ON APRIL (TEXT TRANSMITTED VIENNA 2829 AND 2973. CHANGES BEING TRANSMITTED BY SEPTEL.)

(A) THE US REP RECALLED THAT AT THE PREVIOUS DAY'S (APRIL 3) AHG THE ITALIAN REP HAD OFFEREDN AND THE GROUP HAD ACCEPTED, AN AMENDMENT TO THE REPORT DESCRIBING THE TACTICAL APPROACH OF THE ALLIES IN THE JANUARY-APRIL PERIOD AS "AN ATTEMPT TO GAIN EASTERN AGREEMENT TO THE ALLIED CONCEPT OF A TWO-PHASE NEGOTIATION LEADING TO A COMMON CEILING." THE US REP THOUGHT THIS LANGUAGE CONFUSED THE TACTICAL APPROACH WITH THE OVERALL OBJECTIVE. IN THE IMMEDIATE CONTEXT, THE EFFORT WAS TO OBTAIN EASTERN AGREEMENT TO THE ALLIED CONCEPT OF A TWO-PHASE NEGOTIATION. THERE HAD BEEN NO EFFORT TO REQUIRE THEM TO SIMULTANEOUSLY ACCEPT AT THE SAME TIME THE ULTIMATE ALLIED OBJECTIVES.

3. THE ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) AGREED THAT THE PRESENT LANGUAGE WAS MISLEADING BUT INDICATED A BELIEF THAT THE COMMON CEILING OBJECTIVE HAD BEEN INADEQUATELY STRESSED IN THE REPORT. IT WAS AGREED TO AMEND THIS SECTION OF THE REPORT TO INDICATE THAT THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF SECURING EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE TWO-PHASE APPROACH WAS "TO OPEN THE WAY FOR DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE ENTIRE WESTERN PHASE I NEGOTIATING PROGRAM."

4. ITALIAN REP SAID THAT, IN VIEW OF THE BULGARIAN PLENARY STATEMENT EARLIER THAT MORNING, WHICH IN HIS VIEW DEFENDED THE INTERESTS OF THE FLANK STATES MORE STRONGLY THAN THE WEST HAD SO FAR DONE, THE SEGMENT OF THE APRIL 5 REPORT SUGGESTING THAT THE EAST HAD NOT REACTED TO WESTERN REQUIREMENTS WITH REGARD TO THE FLANKS WAS NO LONGER ACCURATE. THIS SEGMENT (PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE REPORT) SHOULD BE AMENDED IN LIGHT OF THE MORE POSITIVE EASTERN POSITION. THE GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) AGREED AND THE AHG ACCEPTED AN ITALIAN PROPOSAL TO AMEND THE PARAGRAPH SO THAT IT RECOGNIZES THAT "THE EASTERN SIDE SEEMS TO ACCEPT IN GENERAL TERMS" ALLIED REQUIREMENTS THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS BE SAFEGUARDED AND NOT DIMINISHED AS THE RESULT OF AN AGREEMENT.

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5. DISCUSSION OF WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT SCHEDULED TO BE GIVEN ON APRIL 9. THE AHG TURNED TO CONSIDERATION OF AN OUTLINE OF THE FINAL WESTERN PRESENTATION TO BE GIVEN BEFORE THE EASTER RECESS. THE INTENT OF THE PRESENTATION IS TO REVIEW THE LAST THREE MONTHS AND SUGGEST WHERE THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD GO FROM HERE. THE DRAFTING GROUP OUTLINE, BASED ON INITIAL WORK UNDERTAKEN BY THE US DEL, SOUGHT FIRST TO DESCRIBE IN RELATIVELY

NEUTRAL TERMS THE MAJOR QUESTIONS CONFRONTING THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISCUSSIONS AT THIS JUNCTURE: (A) WHO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS, AND (B) WHAT KIND OF REDUCTIONS WOULD CONTRIBUTE MOST TO REDUCING THE RISK OF AN OUTBREAK OF CONFLICT. HOWEVER, THERE WAS CRITICISM BY MOST REPS OF THE EFFORT TO PROVIDE AN INITIAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ISSUES IN AN EVEN-HANDED WAY. THE UK (ROSE), FRG (BEHREND), AND ITALIAN REPS ALL THOUGHT THIS APPROACH COULD ERRONEOUSLY SUGGEST ALLIED FLEXIBILITY OR INDECISIVENESS WITH REGARD TO THE SUPERIORITY OF THE ALLIED APPROACH. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE TEXT OF THE PRESENTATION WOULD BE WRITTEN SO AS TO AVOID THIS DIFFICULTY. OTHER POINTS OF INTEREST WHICH AROSE DURING DISCUSSION OF THE ITEM INCLUDED:

6. QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "WITHDRAWING" AND "DISBANDING" FORCES. THE UK REP SUGGESTED DELETION OF THE ARGUMENT THAT US AND SOVIET FORCES NEED ONLY WITHDRAW FROM THE AREA, UNLIKE THE FORCES OF MOST OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, AND THEREFORE WOULD BE EASIER TO REDUCE. HE FELT THIS ARGUMENT, ALTHOUGH ONE WHICH HAD BEEN USED AS RECENTLY AS THE SAME MORNING'S (APRIL 4) FRG PLENARY STATEMENT, WAS ESPECIALLY AWKWARD FOR THE UK AND CANADA, TO ACCEPT, SINCE IT DREW ATTENTION TO THEM. HE REQUESTED THAT IT BE ELIMINATED AND THAT THE DELAY IN PARTICIPATION IN REDUCTIONS BY NON-US ALLIED COUNTRIES BE EXPLAINED SOLELY BY RECOURSE TO THE NEED FOR GREATER "CONFIDENCE" BY THESE PARTICIPANTS. THE UK REP REMARKED THAT ALTHOUGH SOME MIGHT CONSIDER THIS TO BE A WEAK ARGUMENT, IT WAS AT LEAST APPLICABLE TO ALL NON-US PARTICIPANTS.

7. THE NETHERLANDS REP (QUALRES) SAID HE DID NOT LIKE TO SEE THE WITHDRAWAL/DISBANDING ARGUMENT ELIMINATED. FOR THE NETHERLANDS, THE QUESTION OF DISBANDING FORCES WAS FUNDAMENTAL. INDEED, WHEREAS THE ARGUMENT ABOUT CONFIDENCE WAS MARGINAL.

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THE COUNTRIES WITHIN THE AREA WERE BEING ASKED TO "TAKE A MORTGAGE ON THEIR WHOLE DEFENSE EFFORT," IF THEY PARTICIPATED IN REDUCTIONS. IF THE UK REP FELT VERY STRONGLY, NETHERLANDS REP COULD AGREE TO DELETION OF THIS ARGUMENT IN THIS OUTLINE OF THE NEXT ALLIED PRESENTATION, SINCE IT HAD BEEN MADE IN THIS WEEK'S PRESENTATION (OF APRIL 4). HOWEVER, HIS AGREEMENT TO DELETE THIS ARGUMENT SHOULD NOT BE CITED TO HIM LATER AS A PRECEDENT. THE POINT SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE USED; IN PARTICULAR, THE ALLIES SHOULD MAKE THIS POINT IN PUBLIC, AND PERHAPS SHOULD DO SO AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE SCHEDULED TO BE GIVEN BY HIM ON APRIL 10.

8. THE FRG REP SAID HE WAS NOT FROM HIS NATIONAL VIEWPOINT DESIROUS OF STRESSING THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OVERALL COVERAGE OF FRG AND BENELUX AND PARTIAL COVERAGE OF UK AND CANADA.

HE THOUGHT THAT THE ARGUMENT MIGHT SIMPLY BE REFERRED TO, WITHOUT BEING REPEATED AGAIN, SINCE HE (FRG REP) HAD MADE IT IN HIS OWN PRESENTATION OF APRIL 4. THE ITALIAN REP ARGUED THAT THIS PRESENTATION WOULD BE A WRAP-UP OF THE ALLIED POSITION AND SHOULD CONTAIN AT LEAST A MENTION OF THIS ARGUMENT. HOWEVER, IT NEED NOT BE GIVEN A GREAT DEAL OF EMPHASIS. UK REP AGREED TO GO ALONG WITH INCLUSION OF A SIMPLE REFERENCE TO PREVIOUS ALLIED STATEMENTS OF THIS ARGUMENT, AS DID NETHERLANDS REP WITH SOMEWHAT GREATER RELUCTANCE.

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

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R 081211Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2370

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

9. THE PLACE OF HUNGARY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE CANADIAN DEP REP NOTED THERE HAD BEEN NO MENTION OF HUNGARY IN THE WRAP-UP. HE WONDERED IF SOMETHING SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED. THE FRG REP THOUGHT THAT THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION SHOULD BE BROUGHT UP AT LEAST ONCE IN THIS SEGMENT OF

NEGOTIATIONS; SINCE OTHERWISE THE ALLIES RISKED GIVING UP THIS ISSUE BY FORFEIT. THE ITALIAN REP WONDERED WHY IT WAS NECESSARY TO MAKE MENTION OF HUNGARY. THE AHG HAD JUST ASKED THE HAC FOR GUIDANCE ON THE PROBLEM, AND SINCE THIS REQUEST WAS STILL PENDING IT WOULD BE BEST TO REMAIN SILENT IN ORDER NOT TO PREJUDICE THE NATO DECISION. FRG REP THOUGHT ON CONTRARY, FAILURE TO MENTION HUNGARIAN QUESTION WOULD PREJUDICE ISSUE IN NATO. ITALIAN REP POINTED OUT IT HAD NOT BEEN  
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MENTIONED SINCE NOVEMBER OR DECEMBER, BUT AGREED TO ITS MENTION IN PASSING.

10. FLANK CONCERNS: GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) SUGGESTED THE ADDITION OF A PARAGRAPH TO THE OUTLINE DEALING WITH THE FLANKS. ITALIAN, TURKISH, AND NORWIEGIAN (VARNO) REPS SUPPORTED THIS INITIATIVE. ALL REFERRED, IN ARGUING THEIR CASE, TO THE PRESENTATION EARLIER THAT MORNING (APRIL 4) BY THE BULGARIAN REP, WHO HAD STATED THE EASTERN BELIEF THAT ANY AGREEMENT SHOULD "STRENGHTEN AND NOT DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS REGARDLESS OF THEIR STATUS." THE LANGUAGE INTRODUCED BY GREEK REP REFERRED TMORE DIRECTLY TO THE FLANKS, "WHOSE SECURITY SHOULD BE INCREASED," THAN HAD THE BULGARIAN PRESENTATION. NORWEGIAN REP FELT THAT A MENTION OF THE FLANK PROBLEM WOULD FIT WELL INTO A SUMMARY PRESENTATION, SUCH AS THE ONE EVISAGED FOR APRIL 9, AND SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT EVEN INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO THE BULGARIAN STATEMENT AS SUPPORT FOR THE ARGUMENT THAT HIS WAS A COMMON POINT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

11. US DEP REP OBJECTED THAT THIS REFERENCE TO "INCREASING: THE SECURITY OF THE FLANKS REPRESENTED A CONSIDERABLE CHANGE OVER THE USUAL WESTERN FORMULATION, WHICH REFERRED TO MAINTAINING THEIR SECURITY AND TO ASSURING THAT THEIR SECURITY NOT BE DIMINISHED. THE US DEP REP THOUGHT THAT IF THE AHG WERE TO USE STRONGER AND STRONGER LANGUAGE IN THIS RESPECT, IT WOULD FIND ITSELF IN A POSITION OF DEMANDING AN OUTCOME WHICH THROUGH SPECIFIC MEASURES IMPROVED SECURITY OF FLANKS MORE THAN THAT OF AREA OF DIRECT CONFRONTATION. THIS WAS OF ESPECIAL CONCERN SINCE THE NAC HAD THE PARAGRAPH 30 MEASURES UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION AT THIS TIME, AND THEIR DECISION SHOULD NOT BE PREJUDICED.

12. THE GREEK REP REMARKED THAT SINCE THE US DEP REP HAD REFERRED ON TWO RECENT OCCASIONS TO THE DANGERS OF THE TENDENCY TO USE EVER MORE FORWARD LANGUAGE ABOUT THE FLANKS, HE WANTED TO POINT OUT THAT THIS WAS ONLY A TACTICAL PLOY,

DESIGNED TO GIVE A HINT TO THE OTHER SIDE OF WHAT THE WEST  
MIGHT ULTIMATELY WISH TO HAVE IN TERMS OF MEASURES TO  
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PROTECT THE FLANKS. IT WAS NOT INTENDED THAT THE AD HOC  
GROUP SHOULD EXCEED ITS GUIDANCE OR PREJUDICE DISCUSSIONS  
IN THE NAC. THE ITALIAN REP THOUGHT THE PRESENTATION  
MIGHT SIMPLY REFER TO THE DESIRABILITY OF "STRENGTHENING  
THE SECURITY OF ALL 19 PARTICIPANTS." THE ALLIES HAD MADE  
THIS STATEMENT BEFORE AND REPEATING IT SHOULD POSE NO  
DIFFICULTY. THE NOREWEGIAN REP SAID THAT HE WAS NOT ENTIRELY  
SURPRISED TO DISCOVER THAT THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT HAD  
ENCOUNTERED OBJECTIONS AND HE BELIEVED A GENERAL STATEMENT  
ALONG THE LINES OF THAT SUGGESTED BY THE ITALIAN REP COMBINED  
WITH A CITATION OF THE BULGARIAN REP'S SPEECH TO BRING IN  
THE "COMMON ELEMENT" ASPECT, WOULD SUFFICE. THE  
GREEK, TURKISH, AND ITALIAN REPS INDICATED AGREE-  
MENT WITH THIS COMPROMISE AND GROUP ACCEPTED IT.

13. THE UK REP TOOK EXCEPTION TO A DESCRIPTION  
OF THE OUTLINE OF THE SPECIFIC LIMITED STEPS WHICH  
SHOULD NOW BE TAKEN TO MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS  
AHEAD "IN A PRACTICAL SENSE." THE OUTLINE SUGGESTED  
THAT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON SUCH STEPS SHOULD NOT  
REQUIRE THAT ONE SIDE SET ASIDE ITS ENTIRE OVERALL  
APPROACH AND ACCEPT THE APPROACH OF THE OTHER SIDE,  
BUT RATHER REQUIRED A JOINT UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT  
WAS COMMON IN THE TWO APPROACHES AND WILLINGNESS TO  
BUILD ON THIS COMMON GROUND. THE UK REP STATED THAT  
THE WEST WAS IN FACT DEMANDING THAT IN ALL ESSENTIAL  
RESPECTS THE EAST SET ASIDE ITS OWN APPROACH AND  
ACCEPT THE WESTERN ONE AND THIS TIME SHOULD NOT BE  
DROPPED. HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE POINT IN THE  
OUTLINE REFERRED TO IMMEDIATE TACTICAL REQUIRE-  
MENTS RATHER THAN OVERALL OBJECTIVES. NEVERTHELESS,  
HE FELT THAT IT GAVE TOO MUCH OF AN IMPRESSION OF  
WESTERN FLEXIBILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE.  
THE BELGIAN DEP REP (WILLOT) AGREED, STATING THE  
ALLIES SHOULD NOT GIVE AN IMPRESSION THAT IN ORDER  
TO ATTAIN IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES, THEY WERE WILLING TO  
FOREGO THEIR LONG-RANGE DEDICATION TO THEIR OWN  
PROPOSALS.

14. THE UK DEP REP AGREED THAT PERHAPS THE DIS-  
TINCTION BETWEEN SHORT-RUN WILLINGNESS TO TAKE A  
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PRAGMATIC APPROACH AND LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE MADE MORE CLEARLY. THE BELGIAN DEP REP DOUBTED THAT THE LINE OF ARGUMENT WOULD BE USEFUL AT ALL. THE ITALIAN DEP REP SUGGESTED THAT IT BE ELIMINATED, AND THE FRG REP AGREED. THE US DEP REP INDICATED THAT THE DRAFT TEXT WOULD BE WORDED SO AS TO MEET THESE ALLIED OBJECTIONS. THE UK REP STATED THAT HE WOULD RESERVE HIS POSITION UNTIL HE SAW WHAT THE AD HOC DRAFTING GROUP DEVELOPED WITH REGARD TO A REFORMULATION OF THIS POINT. IT WAS HIS VIEW THAT WHETHER ONE SPOKE IN "PARCTICAL" TERMS OR IN TERMS OF PRINCIPLE, THE EASTERN AND WESTERN APPROACHES WERE IRRECONCILABLE AND THAT WESTERN STATEMENTS SHOULD NOT BLUR THIS POINT.

15. PRESS BRIEFING: US DEP REP INFORMED GROUP THAT POLISH REP (STRULAK) HAD SCHEDULED A PRESS BRIEFING FOR 1630 HOURS ON 9 APRIL AND SUGGESTED THAT AMBASSADOR QUARLES' PRESS BRIEFING SCHEDULED FOR APRIL 10 BE ALSO ANNOUNCED, TO WHICH GROUP AGREED.

16. NEXT AHG IS SCHEDULED TO MEET ON 5 APRIL.  
HUMES

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## Message Attributes

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